VI
The Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya

This shrine occupies an important place in Kashmir for two reasons. First, it is the only shrine of the Naqshbandi order that attracts pilgrims from several parts of Srinagar, mostly the traditional ones on the eve of the ‘urs and on Fridays. The participation of Muslims from rural Kashmir is almost minimal. This fact, however, does not minimize the importance of the shrine. What is noteworthy is the elitist character of the shrine as a centre of political activities during various periods of Kashmir history. As early as the period of Akbar, the site of the present shrine had assumed importance because of the religious and political activities of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi, who was stationed there.

Khwaja Khawand Naqshbandi played a conclusive role in the spread of Naqshbandi order in Kashmir. He proved wrong the suspicion harboured by Jamil Beig, a Mughal officer. Jamil Beig had somehow allowed a doubt to enter his mind whether or not the Kashmiris and their ‘ulama would like the missionary ardour of this Naqshbandi Sufi. Quite to the contrary, Khawand Naqshbandi’s influence was so enormous that not only did the local people flock to him for guidance, but even teachers and ‘ulama contended for becoming his disciples. As a matter of fact, his activities prompted several Central Asian Sufis of Naqshbandi order to promulgate their ideas in the Valley and turn it into a centre of their activities. Khwaja Amin, a nephew of Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi, vied with Khawand Naqshbandi in enrolling disciples into the Naqshbandi order. But such was the acme of Khwaja Khawand Naqshbandi’s spiritual personality that ultimately his rival himself sought the Khwaja’s discipleship. Further, Kashmir under the spiritual guidance of
Khwaja Khawand created quite a ripple in the Mughal court. He went to Agra before Akbar’s death in 1012 / 1603 and enrolled a number of high dignitaries as his disciples. These include Mirza Aziz Koka, some distinguished ladies of the harem like Sultan Salima Begum and Gulrukh Begum. The Mughal emperor Akbar, too, had sought the blessings of the Khwaja once. On his return to Srinagar in 1050 A.H./1606-07 A.D., the Naqshbandi order had prospered to such an extent that the Khwaja delegated his Kashmiri disciples to disseminate its teachings in the regions as far as Kabul and Tibet. Such was the reliance placed by the Khwaja on his disciples of Kashmiri origin that he granted permission to Mulla Abdul Hasan, an illiterate Kashmiri, to spread the social and moral teachings of Sufism in Tibet.

The Khwaja forged close ties with some Mughal nobles of high social position who were also his ardent disciples. Emperor Jahangir showed much interest in his mission of expanding the Naqshbandi order in the Valley during his visit in 1620 but later banished the Khwaja to Kabul. Although Khwaja Khawand Naqshbandi returned to Kashmir after Jahangir’s death, Shah Jahan, under the sway of his influential Diwan Allami Afzal Khan thought it prudent to exile the Naqshbandi Sufi to Lahore where he died on 11 Shaban 1052 A.H. / 25 October 1642 A.D. S.A. Rizvi has put forth a thesis that on account of his hostility to the Shiite, Khwaja Khawand’s role in Kashmir was regarded as a “potential threat” to the interests of the Mughal empire. 3

It was during the time of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi, the son of Khwaja Khawand, that the present site of the shrine gained importance as a religious centre. Unlike his father, Khwaja Muinuddin did not dabble in politics but devoted himself to the dissemination of the teachings of the Naqshbandi order in the Valley. Far from being an abode of a Sufi devoted to asceticism, the Khanqah of Khwaja Muinuddin became a real centre of learning. The Khwaja’s main contribution lies not only in strengthening the Naqshbandi order in the Valley but also in reconciling Shari‘ah and Sufism within the wider framework of the Qur’an and the Sunnah. This phenomenon may be attributed to his firm basis in both Sufism and Shari‘ah. He was trained in religious sciences by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddisd Dihalwi and received initiation into the Naqshbandi order from his father. He took care of many disciples of his father in Kashmir but probably because of being a pupil of Shaikh Abdul
Haqq thought it worthwhile to devote himself to the cause of disseminating exoteric and esoteric knowledge without mixing religion with politics. That is why he was able to author several works including *Fatawa-i-Naqshbandiya*, *Mirat-i-Taibiya* and *Kanz-us-Sa'adat* in Persian. His later works analyze the problems of *Fiqh* and duties of Muslim rulers.

Though Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi kept himself aloof from politics, several 'ulama of Kashmir frequented his *Khanqah*. The most notable among them were Fazil Mulla Muhammad Tahir, Mulla Abul-Fath Kalu, Mulla Yusuf, Mulla Abdun-Nabi and Shaikh Ahmad Mufti.

**THE SHRINE COMPLEX**

*Khanqah*-i-Naqshband, intermediate between Khanyar and Nowhatta, is situated on the extreme left road to *Khauja* Bazar. It is that section of Sikandarpur ward, settled by Sultan Sikandar, where Sultan Hussain Chak had made a garden. The initiative to build a *Khanqah* at this place was taken by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi. Zainul Abidin had erected a *Khanqah* in Asham (Sonawar, Bandipur) on the banks of the river Jehlum in the honour of Saiyid Muhammad Amin Owaisi. After the demise of Saiyid Owaisi in 1484 A.D., the *Khanqah* remained uninhabited for a very long time. In 1633 A.D., Khwaja Mahmud Naqshbandi acquired a legal decree and accordingly the *Khanqah* was pulled down. It was from this rubble that a new *Khanqah* was raised in the garden laid out by Sultan Hussain Chak. An amount of Rs.45000/- was spent on its construction. It is also called the *Khanqah*-i-Khawandia or the *Khanqah*-i-Faiz Panah.

After sometime, Khwaja Khawand Naqshbandi left for Lahore via Delhi. He sent his son Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi to Kashmir to look after and manage the affairs of the *Khanqah*. In Muharram 1085 A.H. / April 1674 A.D., Muinuddin Naqshbandi passed away. He was interred near the *Khanqah* on the northwest side. Thenceforth, his wife herself organized the matters of the *Khanqah*.

In the time of Fazil Khan 1111 A.H./1699 A.D., relic of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was brought to Kashmir by Nuruddin Ishbari. Initially, it was kept in the mausoleum of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi. Later, keeping in view the rush
of the pilgrims and insufficient space, a decision to shift the relic, in consultation with Fazil Khan was ratified. Bagh-i-Sadiq Khan (now the site of Hazratbal) was chosen as its permanent repository.

During the tenure of Governor Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin, the fabric of the Khanqah was mended. In 1886, Nawab Ahsanullah Khan, whose ancestors were from Nawpora (in Srinagar), sent Rs.2000/- from Dacca in the name of Khwaja Sanaullah Shawl. An inspired Sanaullah, too, contributed a decent sum and collected funds from the people. Later, Nawab Ahsanullah sent an amount of Rs.3000/-. All the money was disbursed and the Khanqah was restructured splendidly.

The date of renovation of the khanqah is also contained in the last verse of the following Arabic composition:

A ceiling of Khatamband was made and the roof was changed. Thereafter, the Khanqah, under the purview of local Auqaf, was renovated from time to time.  
The Khanqah is single storied, mounting up to a height of 20 feet. It is a beautiful specimen of wooden architecture. The khatamband ceiling and lattice-work windows impart it a stately look. Facing the arches is a window affording a panoramic view. Its ornamental wooden tower bears a definite likeness to that
of a palanquin’s. The Khanqah’s porch has stone flooring. Another feature is its threshold that projects over concrete slabs of stone. One can find office of the local Auqaf on the western side.

The shrine of Muinuddin Naqshbandi is located in the compound of the Khanqah. It is single storied. Its pyramid-like sloping roof is three-tiered. Over it a tower supports another roof. A spire rises above it. The walls of the shrine are adorned with charming floral, geometric and abstract patterns. The staff of the first Khalifa of Islam Abu Bakr is kept as a relic inside the mausoleum. It has been genealogically inherited. Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi, his wife, his son Khwaja Ashrafuddin and grandson Khwaja Nizamuddin are entombed in it. Their gravestones do not carry an epitaph.

POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE SHRINE

The shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin acquired political importance in Kashmir’s modern history with the launching of political movement started by the Muslims of Kashmir in the early 1930s. All the martyrs connected with the uprising of Kashmiri Muslims against the Dogra rule on the 13th of July 1931 are buried in the cemetery of this shrine. This graveyard has since been known as Mazar-i-Shuhada. The main political parties of Jammu and Kashmir make it a point to offer fatiha at this place on the 13th of July. During the heyday of Kashmir’s struggle for the right of self-determination (1955-75), the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin attracted a large number of people on 13th July every year in order to express solidarity with the Plebiscite Front. Even after the Indira-Shaikh Accord of 1975, this shrine presented a grand spectacle on this day of July. Shaikh Abdullah along with his ministers and later Dr. Farooq Abdullah offered fatiha at the graveyard. Public speeches, as of now, continue to be made in honour of the martyrs of 13th July. During the period when militant activities were intense in Kashmir, fiery speeches were made by various militant organizations on this day with the main purpose of rousing the sentiments of Kashmiri masses against the government on politico-religious grounds.

The brief history of political activities connected with the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin from 1931 to this day, however,
should not delude us into believing that the shrine has turned into a political centre in modern times. As a matter of fact, this shrine continues to hold religious importance among its devotees, including men and women, who continue to visit it for purposes other than political.

A DAY AT THE SHRINE

The daily religious life at the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi is not different from the rest of the major shrines of Kashmir. The prescribed congregational prayers are offered five times a day, in addition to the Friday prayer attended by considerable number of people.

The number of devotees who pay homage at the Khanqah of Naqshband Sahib is quite large. The fact that the Sufi is no longer in flesh and blood does not deter a devotee from visiting the shrine. He is their spiritual guide and the belief prevalent among them is that the Naqshbandi Sufi would never mar the hopes of those who come to seek his guidance. This belief itself is inspiration enough for the countless pilgrims who have been making pilgrimage to his resting place through the ages.

On their way to the shrine, the devotees come across many needy people. The latter's meals are assured. The devotees give them not only money but also eatables like bread, rice, chicken or vegetable pilav etc. So in a way their obligation of zakat also gets fulfilled.

The motives for frequenting the shrine vary though the oft-asked wish is the fulfillment of material needs. The request may be for a son, a child of one's own, success in business or personal endeavours, a spouse etc.

Those whose wishes have already been fulfilled give thanks. It was observed that in either case offerings were made, the needy fed and sometimes tabbaruk distributed.

A few people can be seen reciting compilation of prayers, selected verses from the Qur'an, n'at etc. usually recommended by their pir. Such devotees throng the shrine strictly on the advice of their spiritual guide. Once a middle aged man came with a small brief case containing small booklets of surah Yasin, Muzzamil, durud-i-Taj etc. After offering the zuhr prayers in congregation, he quietly slipped into one corner and busied himself in reciting the compilation.
Still others can be spotted meditating in one corner. A youth who came on crutches was found introspecting at a secluded spot. Later, somebody told the researcher that a few years back he had taken up arms and was involved in militant activities. He had been injured in one of the military operations and could barely walk. Since then he had put his past behind and was a regular visitor to the shrine. A modern writer aptly remarks ‘the belief that pilgrimage is an act of penitence provides a further motive for the pilgrimage...Linked with this is the belief that physical misfortune can have a spiritual cause. In this way, the spiritual and physical motives for pilgrimage can become intermingled. Misfortune can be caused by sin; pilgrimage, as a penitential act, can erase the sin and counteract the misfortune.’

On empirical study, I have formed this idea that no matter what may be the motive of visit; each and every devotee stands united in her or his ardour for the Sufi. Whatever profession pilgrims might be engaged in outside the shrine, but inside it, all adorn different yet same mantles_ be it of a philanthropist giving alms to the poor, a washer washing or sweeping the shrine premises, a supplicant seeking the Sufi’s blessings, or a reverent pouring his heart out amidst tears before the revered. It was only at the shrines that I found people of varied interests bound by common faith and ethical values.

THE OCCASION OF 'URS

It must be pointed out at the outset that two 'urses are observed at the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshband. One is related to Khwaja Bahau'd-Din Naqshband Mushkilkusha who is entombed in Bukhara and the other concerns Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshband, entombed in Srinagar. It may sound strange yet true that the shrine of Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshband holds a unique place in Kashmir for preserving the spiritual heritage of the Naqshbandi order to this day. It is the 'urs of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband and not of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshband that is celebrated with great devotion and traditional éclat.

The annual 'urs of Hazrat Naqshband Mushkilkusha falls on 3rd Rabi-ul-Awwal. However, the holy days of 'urs at the
Khanqah-i-Faizpanah begin on 21st Safar. A complete schedule of the days commemorating the Naqshbandi Sufi’s death anniversary starting on the 21st of Safar and lasting till the date of 3rd Rabi-ul-Awwal is advertised for the public interest at large. Devotees are intimated about the offering time of the famous Khauja Digar separately.

It is particularly on the occasion of 'urs of the Naqshbandi Sufi that certain marked characteristics of the religious life and rituals become known to a keen observer. Congregational khatmat are organized on a daily basis during the holy days of 'urs. Scores of devotees assemble at the Khanqah premises to attend the Khatmat ceremony. The religious assemblages start soon after the fajr prayer and go on till forenoon. The shrine resounds with the recitation of Khatam-i-Naqsband. Nearly 25,000 devotees may be found present at such assemblages.

The Waqf Board makes every possible effort to lessen discomfiture experienced in a rush. The Board in association with the Electricity Department, the Municipality etc. keeps all the necessary items at the disposal of wayfarers. Special attention is paid to the needs of women pilgrims. Especially, the arrangements on the day of 'urs are elaborate and devotees are made aware of these through the local media.

2ND RABI-UL-AWWAL

A day prior to the 'urs, religious conventions are held at the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi. Following the prescribed routine, the first one is held after the fajr prayer. It continues till forenoon. The number of ardent devotees only goes on increasing, it being the maximum especially after the 'isha prayer. Devotees are informed about the timing of the 'isha prayer on the day of 2nd Rabi-ul-Awwal beforehand. As usual, after the 'isha prayer, night long recitals commence. The devotees keep themselves awake the entire night. The recitals include verses from the Quran, khatmat, durud, n’at, munajat etc. these go on till day break i. e. the fajr prayer on the 3rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal.

3RD RABI-UL-AWWAL
3rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal is the day of 'urs. The religious conventions held after each fajr prayer on the days starting 21st Safar conclude. Later, after the zuhr prayer, continuing with the tradition, Mirwaiz Maulvi Umar Farouq gives an eloquent oration that lasts till the 'asr prayer. A separate announcement of the timing of the 'asr prayer is made through the local dailies.

The day of 'urs sees devotees thronging the Khanqah-i-Faizpanah in large numbers. Pilgrims start arriving early, several thousands at day break to offer the fajr prayer in congregation. They pay obeisance and leave. But it is especially at the time of offering the 'asr prayer that the devotees stay back a little while longer.

The 'asr prayer on the eve of 'urs at the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi witnesses a mammoth gathering of people from all walks of life. The 'asr prayer offered on this day is popularly called the Khauja Digar. However, there is nothing unusual about the manner in which the 'asr prayer is offered at the shrine. The Khauja Digar is in no way different from the ordained 'asr prayer. The only difference is that the 'asr prayer on the day of annual 'urs at the Khanqah-i-Faizpanah has been termed Khauja Digar.

The number of devotees who come to offer the Khauja Digar in congregation is so large that the Waqf Board makes arrangement for additional supply of mats. Despite this, pilgrims are requested through local dailies to bring their personal prayer mats along.

The most popular moment is when the Khauja Digar is offered, the 'asr prayer falling on the eve of 'urs. A huge number of pilgrims gather together in and around the mosque to offer it in congregation. Every space in the mosque, courtyard of the shrine and the lanes of the surrounding market gets filled with devotees eager to offer the 'asr prayers. They arrive a couple of hours early so as to secure a convenient position in the shrine premises. It is not only the ones living in the vicinity of the shrine who form the majority. In fact, there are several thousands who, traveling from far off places, have only one thing on their minds_ to be a part of the 'urs festivities and, more importantly, to offer the Khauja Digar prayers in congregation at the Khanqah-i-Faizpanah. Though the 'asr prayer is offered on the time prescribed, Khatmat and other religious assemblages precede it. Throngs of people start
gathering a wee early to occupy a convenient place. Once the prayer is offered, the pilgrim rush subsides for a while.

After the offering of the Khauja Digar, devotees distribute tabarruk (sanctified fare) among their fellow devotees. An appeal is made through the local press to bring the tabarruk in separate wrappers so as to avoid rush. Further, pilgrims are asked to be in control of themselves and not unnecessarily crowd those distributing the blessed fare.

After the 'asr prayer (Khauja Digar), hallowed gatherings are held once again at the shrine.

KHAUJA DIGAR

The most important and unique aspect of the religious life at the shrine of the Naqshband Sahib is the offering of congregational prayer at the time of 'asr on the day of 'urs of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband. Sources are silent about this distinctive characteristic of Islam in Kashmir. A purely sublime religious devotion of the Kashmiris evolved over centuries past under the influence of Sufi masters of the Naqshbandi order who strictly followed the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

Khauja is the derivative of the Khwaja and digar signifies the time of 'asr in Persian. The fact that Sufism brought about the Central Asian and Persian orientation of Islam in Kashmir can be gauged from the fact that even now Kashmiri Muslims, by and large, continue to use Persian vocabulary for five prescribed times of the daily Islamic prayer (salat in Arabic and namaz in Persian) viz., for the morning, the Persian subuh (Arabic fajar), for mid-day, the Persian peshn (Arabic zuhr), for the afternoon, the Persian digar (Arabic 'asr), for the evening, the Persian sham (Arabic maghrib) and for the night, the Persian khoftan (Arabic 'isha). One wonders how the afternoon prayer, though part and parcel of the fundamentals of Islam, became a distinct symbol of the religious life at the Khanqah of Naqshband on the eve of 'urs. How is it that a fundamental religious duty came to be associated with the name of the Khwaja?

As already mentioned, Khauja is a Kashmiri word, a derivative of the Persian Khwaja. Digar is the Persian term for 'asr prayer. The Naqshbandi Sufis are called Khwajagans. Hence in all probability, the term Khwaja got associated with the 'asr
prayer offered at the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi on the occasion of annual 'urs. The exceptionally high number of devotees who offer the Khauja Digar in congregation at the shrine goes on to show their high regard and respect for the Naqshbandi Sufi Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband.

Like the celebrations of Milad and M'iraj at the shrine of Hazratbal, 12 days' preparation precedes the 'urs of Naqshband Saheb. From 21st Safar to 3rd Rabi-ul-Awwal thousands of devotees throng the shrine. They attend the religious assemblages that start generally at 8 a.m. The recitations at these assemblages include Khatam-i-Khwajagan, Khatam-i-Lahawlawala and Khatam-i-Khwaja Bahauddin Muhammad Naqshband. On the day of 'urs i.e. 3rd Rabi-ul-Awwal, the same khatmat are repeated after the fajr prayers. However, as stated earlier, the most dominant feature of the day of 'urs is the Khauja Digar. This prayer, though essentially a fundamental of Islam, may be regarded as the climax of the 'urs celebrations at the shrine of Naqshband. The devotees are keen to offer this prayer in congregation at the shrine. So the largest congregation at the shrine is the one that is related to Khauja Digar. This event attracts not only men but a large number of women as well.

According to Prof. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Khauja Digar came into vogue from the days of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. Prof. Tayub Shah Kamili who has been acting as an imam during the time of Khauja Digar also expressed the same view when interviewed by this researcher. It, however, seems that during the early days the Khauja Digar must have been the prescribed 'asr prayer rather than Khauja Digar. The daily 'asr prayer on the day of 'urs seems to have assumed the name of Khauja Digar in due course as a result of the growing popularity of the Naqshbandi order in Kashmir. The enrolment of several Kashmiri 'ulama in the Naqshbandi order must have also prompted various sections of Kashmiri society to participate in the recitation of the khatmat preceding the 'asr prayer on the day of 'urs.

It follows that essentially the prescribed daily 'asr prayer in congregation assumed a both a distinctive characteristic and name in the Kashmiri environment. One wonders how Khwaja Khawand Mahmud or for that matter his son, Khwaja Muinuddin would have named the 'asr prayer the Khauja Digar in view of
its being one of the fundamentals of Islam. As a matter of fact, it is on record that Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi would remain engrossed in meditation soon after the 'asr until the maghrib prayer. On this account, the tradition of holding a special assemblage on each Thursday after the 'asr at the Khanqah came into vogue. This assembly is marked by the recitation of khatmat and manaqib in praise of the Khwaja. A bigger gathering than this is held on the 3rd of every lunar month at the Khanqah.

'URS OF KHWAJA MUINUDDIN NAQSHBANDI

Besides the 'urs celebrations of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi, the 'urs of Khwaja Muinuddin Naqshbandi is also celebrated with devotional fervour at the Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya. However, the participation of the devotees is not as large as it is on the eve of the former's 'urs. Unlike the religious assemblies which mark the 'urs of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi for 12 days, the 'urs of Khwaja Muinuddin is observed only on the 29th of Muharram every year. On this day the recitation of khatmat viz. Khatam-i-Khwajagan, Khatam-i-Lahawlawala, Khatam-i-Hazrat-i-Khwaja Bahauddin Muhammad Naqshband, Khatam-i-Li ilah, Durud-i-Najat and Awrad-o-Azkar including n'at start soon after the morning prayer. Manqabat are also recited eulogizing the piety and greatness of Khwaja Bahauddin Muhammad Naqshband.

'URS OF KHWAJA KHAWAND MAHMUD NAQSHBANDI

Every year on the 11th of the month of Shaban, the 'urs of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi at the Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya is marked by the recitation of the Khatam-i-Khwajagan and manaqib in praise of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband. Durud and salam are specially sent to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

'URS OF KHWAJA ALUDDIN NAQSHBANDI

On the eve of 'urs of Khwaja Alauddin Naqshbandi 10 celebrated on 20th Rajab, a special religious assembly is held at the Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya. The occasion is marked by the
recitation of the *khatam* of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi in addition to the recitation of *durud* and *salam* for the Prophet (SAW).

**GENERAL REMARKS**

The *Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya* has developed a distinct identity of its own among the major shrines of Kashmir. While the other shrines evolved traditions having their origins in the cultural ethos of Kashmir, the *Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya* preserved its identity as a shrine in conformity with the basic mission of the Naqshbandi order. As is well known, the Naqshbandi Sufis stressed the importance of the *Shari'ah* in everyday life, in spite of their adherence to Sufism. As a matter of fact, in their view Sufism and *Shari'ah* were integral to each other. In this regard, they particularly sought to extend their influence to the political circles. They were able to enroll various members of the ruling class as their disciples. This contributed to the wider dissemination of the teachings of the Naqshbandi order among the elite. It was through their emphasis on the importance of *zikr* and the organization of religious assemblies at regular intervals that the Naqshbandi Sufis were able to draw both the elite and the commoners. One noted feature of the *Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya* is its role in reinforcing its image as the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah*. Through the recitation of popular *ruba'iyat* of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi particularly, the *Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiya* has played an important part in revitalizing the concept of *Tawhid* among the devotees. In addition to the religious devotion witnessed at the shrine, collective intonation of these *ruba'iyat* certainly dispels doubts about the alleged heretical beliefs of the devotees of the shrine. Following *ruba'iyat* are reproduced to allay such doubts:

1. جرگ بچانه قمیصد و بیزور کر
2. تاریخ دار شیعی مانند و سنت
3. خانک در آستانی ملائک و ملائک
4. در وصف وختانی ملائک و متین
5. بارب کنانی میکرون از تری نت
6. در منص عصر خور پناهنگ بگذار
7. در منص عصر خور پناهنگ بگذار

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جوہر کمی کے زمرے دا رحیم
جب کراں دونوں طرف دا مار دا

بہادر روشنی جنہاں کی جدگاں
بیاں جو شریف سچدیس دا کرم

اس سڈھ دا ہم دا روشنی دا
ای مسلسل کریم دا گرم

نہر میں بھی بیاں کی ادا کریں
بہادر کوٹ دا دیکھ دا کرم

خانہ میں باہر دا ہمہ دا روح
بہادر چڑھ دا ہماری دا گرم

اس میں ہم دا بہادر کوٹ دا
اب ہم دا بہادر کوٹ دا گرم

بہادر نے کوٹ دا دیکھ دا کرم
FOOTNOTES:

1) The Naqshbandi order originated in the land of Turks. The Naqshbandi silsila was first known as Khwajagan. But later it came to be associated with the name of Bahauddin Muhammad Naqshbandi (d.1390), (717-791 A.H./1317-1389 A.D.). The order was chiefly popularised by him. However, Abdul Khaliq al-Ghujdawani may be regarded as the organizer of special tendencies of the Naqshbandi tradition. He formulated the eight rules that governed Tariqat al-Khwajagan or the tariqa (way) of the Khwajagan (as mentioned, the name by which the order was known). Bahauddin expanded these rules to eleven. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi orders in Islam, 1971, Oxford, p.62.

The order was first introduced in India during the time of Babur (d.1530 A.D.). The Indians belonging to the Naqshbandi order trace their spiritual descent to Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrar (Ramadhan 806 A.H./1404 A.D.), a prominent successor of Khwaja Bahauddin’s disciple Yaqub Charkhi (d.851 A.H./ 1447 A.D.). (S. Trimingham, op. cit.). The real propagator of Naqshbandi order in India, however, is Khwaja Baqi Billah Berang (1563-1603 A.D.), the seventh in succession to Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi.

2. Saiyid Hilal, one of the disciples of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi, introduced the Naqshbandi order in Kashmir. He came to Kashmir during the rule of Sultan Sikandar. He left only one disciple. His name was Mir Saiyid Amin. In local parlance he is known as Usi Saheb. But he did not enlist any disciple. The order was revived by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi (11 Shaban 1052 A.H./ 4 November 1642) after more than a century had passed. A. Q. Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir: from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, n. d., Bhartiya Publishing House, p.129.

3. Rizvi has put forth a thesis that on account of his hostility to the Shiite, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud’s role in Kashmir was considered as a “political threat” to the interests of the Mughal empire. S. Athar Rizvi, A history of Sufism in India, Vol. 2, 1983, New Delhi, p. 184.
4. Some 'ulama of Kashmir, Lahore and Delhi worked in close collaboration on Fatwa-i-Naqshbandiya. This work, in several respects, was a forerunner of the Fatwa al-Alamigiriya compiled by a board of 'ulama under the personal supervision of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

5. Mirati-i-Taibiya and an anthology of his Kanz-us-Saadaat in Persian give biographical details about Khwaja Khawand Mahmud.

6. These works seem to have been influenced by Saiyid Ali Hamadani's Zakhirat-ul-Muluk and Fazlullah Ruzbihan Ishfahani's Suluk-ul-Muluk.


10. A native of Khwarazm, he distinguished himself as the most leading khalifa of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshaband. After the death of his spiritual teacher, he settled in Chaghaniyan near Hisar-Shadman (Dushanbe in Tajikistan). Both 'ulama and Sufis regarded him as a leader with great spiritual sensitivity. His own contribution along with his celebrated disciple Maulana Yaqub Charkhi to the development of Naqshbandiya order was enormous. He died in 802/1400. One of his descendants, Khwaja Mahmud Naqshabandi 'Alwi Husaini played a significant role in the spread of Naqshbandiya teachings in Kashmir and at the Mughal court.